

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L OSLO 3590

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: ENRG, NO

SUBJECT: NORWAY AND THE INTEGRATED ENERGY PROGRAM -- PART 11

REF: BRUSSELS 5797

1. IN PART 1 WE REVIEWED NORWAY'S PROBLEMS WITH THE IEP
AND THE REASONS GIVEN FOR THESE PROBLEMS. WE DISCUSS
BELOW SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS BEHIND THESE PROBLEMS
AND ARNESEN'S FEAR THAT THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT ON IEP
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PARTICIPATION COULD REOPEN THE ISSUES OF EEC MEMBERSHIP,

INCREASE NATIONALIS, AND MAKE FUTURE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE MORE DIFFICULT. WE REQUEST GUIDANCE ON THESE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES.

2. FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND HAS TOLD ME OF HIS SUPPORT FOR THE IEP CONCEPT AND OF THE IMPORTANCE AND ADMIRATION WITH WHICH HE VIEWS IT AS PART OF THE SECRETARY'S DESIGN FOR EUROPE. HE HAS ALSO TOLD ME OF PROBLEMS HE HAS HAD IN BRINGING OTHER MINISTRIES ALONG IN SUPPORTING IEP.

3. IT IS DIFFICULT TO GAUGE ACCURATELY THE IMPORTANCE FRYDENLUND AND ARNESEN ATTACH TO THE MAJORITY VOTING AND ESCAPE CLAUSE ISSUES. ARNESEN REPORTS THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS TOLD HIM IN BRUSSELS THAT THERE IS NO U.S. GIVE ON THE MAJORITY VOTING ISSUE BECAUSE OF THE VALUE OF THE AUTOMATIC TRIGGER AS A DETERENT, AND EMBASSY ASSUMES OUR POSITION ON ESCAPE CLAUSE IS SIMILAR. AT SAME TIME BOTH THE AUTOMATIC TRIGGER AND LACK OF AN ESCAPE CLAUSE CONFLICT WITH FRYDENLUND'S VIEW OF NORWAY AS A BRIDGE BUILDER OR HONEST BROKER AND WITH HIS DESIRE TO BRING PRODUCERS AND CONSUMER COUNTRIES CLOSER TOGETHER. THIS ROLE COULD BE COMPLICATED IF NORWAY IS IRREVOCABLY TIED TO CONSUMER ACTION IN THE IEP. THERE MAY BE, THEREFORE, SOME MERIT IN MAKING SPECIAL PROVISION FOR NORWAY AS AN OIL EXPORTER IN THE IEP, ESPECIALLY IF THE DEPARTMENT FORESEES A ROLE FOR NORWAY AS A BRIDGE BUILDER.

4. THE DEBATE ON EEC MEMBERSHIP IN 1972 SPLIT THE COUNTRY, AROUSED NORWEGIAN NATIONALISM, AND LED TO THE RESIGNATION OF PRIME MINISTER BRATTELI WHO HAD SUPPORTED MEMBERSHIP. BRATTELI HAS BEEN RE-ELECTED, AND I BELIEVE ARNESEN AND FRYDENLUND MAY OVERSTATE THE DANGER OF THE DEBATE ON THE IEP. HOWEVER, NORTH SEA OIL HAS FURTHER HEIGHTENED NATIONALISM DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS, AND FRYDENLUND IS GENUINELY CONCERNED THAT REJECTION OF IEP PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENT COULD TURN NORWAY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH WESTERN EUROPE THE FORMER BRATTELI GOVERNMENT SOUGHT IN 1972. HE SEES IEP PARTICIPATION AS A MODEST STEP
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BACK IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT THE NORWEGIAN CABINET MUST WEIGH THIS STEP AGAINST THE RISKS OF PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION. ON OUR PART WE MUST ALSO DECIDE HOW IMPORTANT NORWEGIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE IEP IS TO US AND HOW MUCH WE ARE PREPARED TO DO TO INSURE IT.

5. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF I COULD GIVE ARNESEN AND FRYDENLUND OUR POSITIONS ON THE MAJORITY VOTING AND

ESCAPE CLAUSE ISSUES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT THEY CAN FACTOR IT INTO PREPARATIONS FOR THE CABINET'S CONSIDERATION OF IEP PARTICIPATION LATER THIS MONTH. IF THERE IS NO GIVE IN OUR POSITION, IT WOULD BE BEST TO TELL FRYDENLUND AND ARNESEN NOW AND TO ELIMINATE THE RISK OF A SITUATION WHERE THE CABINET OR THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AGREES TO NORWEGIAN MEMBERSHIP ON THE CONDITION THAT CONCESSIONS CAN BE WORKED OUT. A STATEMENT OF NO GIVE MIGHT EVEN STRENGTHEN FRYDENLUND'S HAND VIS-A-VIS OTHER MINISTRIES BY ALLOWING HIM TO SAY THAT HE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE IEP AGREEMENT TO MEET NORWEGIAN CONCERNS. AN INDICATION OF U.S. FLEXIBILITY WOULD, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAKE IT EASIER FOR FRYDENLUND TO SECURE CABINET AND FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE CONSENT TO NORWEGIAN IEP PARTICIPATION.

6. ACTION REQUESTED -- GUIDANCE BY AUGUST 12 ON THE U.S. POSITION ON THE MAJORITY VOTING AND ESCAPE CLAUSE ISSUES FOR USE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH FRYDENLUND AND ARNESEN. IN ADDITION IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE AN INDICATION OF HOW IMPORTANT WE CONSIDER NORWEGIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE IEP, HOW STRONGLY WE WISH TO PUSH FOR IT, AND HOW IMPORTANT WE CONSIDER IT AS A MECHANISM FOR LINKING NORWAY TO THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE.
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